

Manufactures

- 463 Arts and crafts have reached no high development, nor, on the whole, do they make any pretensions to artistry. For the most part they are common knowledge and everyday accomplishments. To a very limited extent do particular crafts belong to particular districts; for instance, the people of Huhurundi (Sauaha) are said to excel in the painting of bark-cloth—which is probably a matter of tradition; and the people of the middle Kumusi to excel in the making of stone clubs—which is merely a matter of a supply of pebbles. Again, in a limited degree we see signs of individual pre-eminence. A man may specialize in the making of *tau* or wooden bowls by virtue of a steady hand and a good eye, or a woman may have a reputation as a bark-cloth painter. But such individual skill is, I am convinced, the result of natural gifts rather than of any special training. It appears that any and every man tries his hand at carving a bowl out of a block of wood, and only those who find they have a special aptitude care to persist and perfect themselves. Investigation proves that such crafts are not necessarily or even usually hereditary.

In the main, therefore, it appears that every man is an all-round craftsman. If he is a jack-of-all-trades he is likewise a fair exponent of all of them; and if he is a master of one of them he is likely to be a master of all, simply because he is born with a certain adaptable skill or handiness.

- 462 The only labour division of any great interest is the habitual one between the sexes. Pottery, bark-cloth, pandanus mats, string, and small fish-nets are made by women; weapons, ornaments, wooden bowls, coco-nut mats and baskets, plaited belts, and the larger fish-nets are made by men.

323 Pottery (*Obu*). The yellowish clay used for pottery is not found in all parts of the Division, and the collecting of it
317 may mean a long journey. It is brought home in a wrapping of moist leaves, and beaten out on a large flat board (*obu-iri*), viz. the flange of a forest tree. The club is a piece of plain wood called *obu kungahu*.
[443]

285 pig inside, enclosed as if in a made-to-measure basket. It
482 remains questionable whether the pig travels more comfortably thus than in the normal way with its feet tied to a pole.

285 *Plaiting.* Belts are made by men with very thin strips of
[462] cane. Several effective patterns are done in yellow and black of which I have recorded only the commonest one (*vide* Plate IX). Belts and armlets or leglets are made from a species of brown creeper fibre, plaited very closely into bands of varying width.

462 *String and Rope.* String such as is used in making small
283 fish-nets is made by women. They tease out pandanus fibre and roll it on the thigh. Rope, e.g. for pig-nets, is made by men from pandanus.

322 *Woodwork.* Wooden bowls (*tsua*) are cut out of blocks of
[462] soft wood. The work is done with a light adze and the surface is smoothed with sandpaper leaves. The finished article is a light boat-shaped vessel, with or without a handle at one end; though entirely without ornament, it sometimes possesses a graceful outline. These *tsua* are often made by men who appear to be experts, and they make the nearest approach to the stock-in-trade of a specialist.

The carving of hard-wood into lime spatulae has been already mentioned (p. 66). With somewhat rare exceptions such carving is inferior or careless; and in many cases scratching would be a better word.

Weapons

411 *Spears.* The principal weapon is the spear, of which several varieties are distinguished.

(1) The ordinary pig-spear (*o-ki*) is made of black palm-wood (*koropa*). It is heavy and long—often about 12 feet. The section towards the point is half oval, and there are two sets of barbs.

(2) The fighting spear (*ovoro*) is much lighter and only about 9 feet in length. It is made either of *koropa* palm or of a reddish hard-wood (*kimana*) which takes a high polish. The section toward the point is approximately square; there are four sets of barbs, often well cut; and some distance below

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301 ornate, with pendants and rosettes of dogs' teeth and scarlet
554 seeds. They do not take the form of feather head-dresses,
which constitute what I have throughout called the *kokum-
bari*. It will be understood, though, that the word *kokum-
bari* means literally 'decorate', and might correctly be applied
to the *otobu*. A distinction is sometimes drawn between *di-
kokumbari* (bird or feather decoration) and *bambo-kokumbari*
(ornament decoration), the latter, of course, meaning the
otobu. However, I shall continue to restrict the word
'*kokumbari*' to the feather decorations which every initiate
receives, and which are, as it were, cheaper than the *otobu*.

301 I have been assured that, whereas the *kokumbari* is given
554 properly by the *nobo*, the *otobu* is given by the *mama* (not the
431 actual father, but one of the paternal uncles); but we find
that the latter rule, like the former, will not come well out
of the wash. It is customary, of course, for the candidate's
parents to supply the pig which is the price of the *otobu*.
[463] (In some cases he does so himself.) The father will bespeak
the services of some other—a craftsman—to make the
actual ornament, and this man (the *otobu-embo*) is called upon
as much for his skill and artistry as for any special relation-
ship he bears to the boy. Among twenty-one cases it ap-
peared that the *otobu-embo* was *mama* to the candidate in nine
(in one of them he was the real father), *nobo* in six, *bitepemi*
in three, *nabori* in one, *abije* (grandfather) in one, and in the
last he was of no recognized relationship but merely *otavo*,
or friend, to the candidate's father.

There is no actual social necessity for every man to
receive an *otobu*, though it seems probable that at some time
or other nearly every one does. And these further points are
significant, that one person may receive a number of them
at different times, and that he may receive them at any age.

The usual occasion for presenting them is at the *kokum-
bari* ceremony in which the recipients are sometimes quite
young children who are still a long way from puberty.
Again, as we have seen, the *otobu* may be given to the man-
slayer (though this is not absolutely invariable). But it
appears further that an opportunity for bestowing an *otobu*
might be made at any and every ceremony. Thus, for in-

GARDEN LABOUR

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be somewhat later in starting work, but they do their share. There are very few slackers in an Orokaiva village. As has been indicated, there is no effective division of labour in the garden save that between the sexes, and, to a less extent, that between old and young. There are incipient traces of trades and special vocations among the Orokaiva, but in gardening there is virtually no such differentiation. Every man, unless he be aged or a cripple, has his own garden, and he and his wife and children support themselves. [463]

Sometimes the whole clan will co-operate. This is seen especially when a move is made and work begun on a new area. Sometimes by invitation another village will come to assist in these initial operations. This is the nearest approach that the Orokaiva makes to the African working bee. Passing at noon through the village of Ohoraburari—so named because the 'dance of the rooster' was once performed there—we see the women already busy, and a great array of black pots on the fires. A little farther and we come to the new garden clearing, where we find at work the whole population, men and women, of a neighbouring village, Totoimaburari, 'the dance of Totoima', the legendary mankiller. Working with them are a few of the Ohoraburari people—such as are not more interested in helping prepare the feast for their paying guests. 241 476 618

The work proceeds steadily, but with little system. There is nothing like a drive, or a rank of men moving forward and working abreast; but rather a number of scattered individuals, engaged in a somewhat aimless and leisurely kind of dibbling. On the edge of the garden is a platform, shoulder high, with a miniature ladder from the ground. This is the *baran*, or *ba gaga*, the platform on which offerings are set for the spirits of the dead, who govern the taro crop; and the ladder is intended in some manner to facilitate their access to the offerings. On this occasion the *baran* is hung about with tufts of the brilliant feathers which make up the Orokaiva head- [778 769]